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KRISTO DAS PAL.

A SKETCH OF
His Life and Career

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BABU KRISTO DAS PAL.

INTRODUCTION.

IT would always repay to peruse the life of Babu Kristo Das Pal, the greatest of Indian journalists. It is of special value now in the days of the Press Law and the Seditious Meetings Act. It teaches the people that one can be the respected friend and trusted adviser of the Government while being a severe critic of its measures. And it teaches the Government that criticism is not necessarily synonymous with sedition. Babu Kristo Das Pal was often a severe critic of the Government; but he was always consulted and honoured by the Government; and he was rightly called one of the "Pillars of the Empire." An irritable Lieutenant-Governor (Sir George Campbell), once called his journal disloyal, because it criticised certain measures of the Government which interfered with the

rights of permanent settlement and the cause of higher education. Kristo Das addressed a spirited and effective remonstrance which evoked only praise on all sides. He distinguished the executive from the constituted authority and quoted the case of the opposition in Parliament. 'Loyalty does not mean the recognition of the English as the dominant caste in India ; nor does it mean the submission of individual Indians to individual Englishmen ; but it means allegiance to the British rule and respect for the law.'

BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

Kristo Das Pal was born in 1838, of very poor parents and in an humble caste called the *Telee*. He began his studies in the Bengali section of what is now known as the Oriental Seminary, where his progress was marked and he obtained the prize of a silver medal. In 1848, he joined the English section, and here also he gave proofs of intelligence and industry. He left the school in 1853, and read for some time under a missionary who could scarcely instruct him from any other book than the

Bible. He then became a member of the "Calcutta Literary Free Debating Club," some other members of which and himself organised a "morning class." It used to receive instruction first from the Rev. Morgan, a distinguished teacher of youth, and then from Dr. George Smith, who edited the 'Friend of India.'

"He used to get up at 4 o'clock (in the morning), visit his comrades and proceed with them to attend the lectures. Many of his comrades became tired of the early journey; but Kristo Das was made of different stuff; his zeal never flagged."

After attending this morning class for two years he joined the Hindu Metropolitan College, of which he was one of the earliest students, and had the advantage of reading with men like Cap. D. L. Richardson and others, who were all distinguished scholars, all interested in the cause of education, and all moved by the warmest sympathy with the people of this country and their pupils in particular. In 1857, that is, at the age of 19 he left college and commenced his worldly career.

EARLY ACTIVITIES.

While yet a student he took a lively interest in politics and possessed considerable skill as debater. He was the moving spirit of the Club already referred to, and by his unwearied efforts raised it to a higher position than that of any similar association of young men. In one of its meetings Dr. Alex. Duff was invited to preside. Young Kristo Das happened to differ from the reverend Doctor on some points, and he stood up and boldly expressed his dissent. Kristo Das was a born politician. After the Mutiny was suppressed in 1857, he suggested to his Club that they should send their congratulations to the Government through the British Indian Association. He drafted the letter and took it to Raja Issur Singh, the Secretary of the Association, who was highly pleased with the letter, thanked the Club for its valuable suggestion and promised to carry out the proposal speedily.

When he left college he was very well acquainted with the English language and literature. He was not interested in Sanskrit

or Bengali, Mathematics or philosophy, and scientific education had not come into vogue. The most valuable part of his education was given him by his worldly work and experience. To this he added an active mind, a generous heart and a habit of untiring industry.

INITIATED INTO JOURNALISM.

Even before he left college he had imbibed a taste for reading newspapers and writing for them. His emulation was first excited when a few lines written by a friend of his were inserted in the "Hindoo Patriot" of which he was a regular reader. And when he learnt that contributors to newspapers were not only supplied with free copies of the papers but also fairly well remunerated, he believed a poor young man like himself should not neglect those advantages.

"He began to contribute on a humble scale to the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Citizen*; he was favoured with copies of those papers and he received promises of remuneration. He gathered courage. He wrote an article for the *Hindu Patriot* and laid it before the

editor, Hurrish Chunder Mukerji, who expressed concurrence in the sentiments of the writer, but warned him against the adoption of an ornate style. Kristo Das's article did appear in the *Patriot*, after correction."

"His joy knew no bounds," as may well be imagined. After leaving college he enriched his mind at the public libraries and improved his English composition. He began to contribute regularly to many papers, and occasionally to the "Englishman," whose editor, Mr. William Col. Hurry, valued his contributions much. About this time also commenced his regular connection with the "Hindoo Patriot" in which he wrote a series of articles on the Indian Mutiny. Hurrish Chunder Mukerji formed a high opinion of his talents and acquirements, "and thought he would be able to do much for his country if God spared him." He published on his own responsibility three pamphlets which gained him much credit, one entitled "Young Bengal Vindicated," one on "Indigo Cultivation" and one on "The Mutinies and the People" which was a vindi-

cation of the loyalty of the people of India.

In 1860 the proprietor of the "Hindoo Patriot" died and the paper changed hands several times, till towards the end of 1861 Kristo Das was appointed the sole and substantial editor. It was thought fit to exercise supervision for some time over the paper, but it was soon discovered that Kristo Das, though young, was sober and discreet, and accordingly the supervision ceased. Kristo Das took a bold step when he chose journalism for his profession. After the lapse of half a century, during which period matters have improved enormously, journalism cannot be considered even now as a profession open to our young men. The idea of Kristo Das was to be "a Man and a Patriot," and he thought he could better carry this out in the capacity he chose than as a clerk in a Government office or as a member of the legal profession. He stuck to journalism in the face of strong temptations. He could every day see men who did not possess his general education and were not of his mental calibre, get on very well as lawyers. It is true that on leaving college he

obtained employment as translator in the Court of the District Judge of 24 Parganas, and after a few days he was dismissed because the judge considered him incompetent. But later when Sir William Grey offered him an appointment in the public service he declined the offer. His choice had been made, and it had been wisely made, because he was fitted above all things to be a journalist and a Secretary and a debater. Therefore not on grounds of worldly prudence but in accordance with the economy of nature, Kristo Das's choice was properly made.

PROSPERITY OF THE "HINDOO PATRIOT."

When the "Hindoo Patriot" came into the hands of Kristo Das Pal it was a dying concern which was declining systematically. But under the genius of the new editor it suddenly revived and went on steadily progressing. In paying a tribute to his memory Mr. Ilbert justly observed :

"Succeeding at the age of some of the graduates of to-day, to the management of one of the oldest organs of public opinion in this country, by the readiness and versatility

of his pen, by the patient industry which he displayed in mastering the details of the subjects with which he undertook to deal, by the fairness, breadth, and moderation of his utterances he gradually and steadily advanced its reputation during his twenty-three years of editorship and raised it from a nearly moribund condition to the first place among native Indian journals."

SECRETARY TO THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

Kristo Das Pal used to assist his friend Hurish Chunder Mukerjee, the editor of the "Hindoo Patriot" in his work as Assistant Secretary to the British Indian Association. On his death Kristo Das was appointed to the place and he filled it very worthily, his services being invaluable. In 1879 he was promoted to the post of Secretary.

"The association has always been composed of wealthy, intelligent, honorable and distinguished men; it would under any circumstances have commanded respect and enjoyed power; but it is doubtful if without a Kristo Das Pal it could have done all the

work or even the greater part of it that it has done. The office of Secretary to the Association invested Kristo Das with an importance which he would not probably have otherwise acquired ; and the association got in Kristo Das a thoroughly competent Secretary who not only did its work but determined its policy and guided its counsels."

"As editor of the *Hindu Patriot* and Secretary to the British Indian Association, Kristo Das could not fail to attract notice, inspire respect, and grow in importance. He was appointed a Municipal Commissioner and a Justice of the Peace in 1863. In 1872, he was appointed a Member of the Legislative Council of Bengal. He was a Fellow of the Calcutta University. The title of Rai Bahadur was conferred upon him at the Imperial Assemblage held at Delhi on the 1st of January, 1877. In the following year he was invested with the insignia of a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire. In the year 1883, he was unanimously elected

by the British Indian Association for the seat in the Viceregal Council, placed at its disposal by Lord Ripon. His position, as it rose higher and higher, brought attendant duties which he discharged with unremitting, conscientious industry. His health broke down, and after a lingering illness he died on the 24th of July 1884, thirty-one years after the *Hindoo Patriot* had been established, and twenty-three years after he had been appointed its sole, responsible editor."

AS WRITER.

Kristo Das Pal wrote very good English. It is said that with him ended "the old race of native writers who were masters of pure polished and idiomatic English." This he owed to his training, habit and instinct. He was not brought up under an "examination system" in which one crams to choking, and which aims at a many-sided shallowness, but under a system which aimed at thoroughness. And his teachers were not the valiant dictators of volumes of notes, but earnest and sympathetic instructors who took a lively and

personal interest in their pupils. Kristo Das was specially fortunate in having able scholars, skilled writers and practical men of the world for his teachers. They looked over his exercises, directed his private study, and selected books for him from the Calcutta Public Library. He was also helped by Hurrish Chander Mukerjee, the founder of the "Hindoo Patriot" whose articles, it is said, have never been surpassed in this country in point of literary form. He had severe critics in the Anglo-Indian journalists, whose criticism contributed not a little to his improvement. Not the least factor, however, was his own deliberate study. In the years of his manhood he read, not desultorily, but with a view to acquire useful knowledge and also to form his style. His writings in the "Hindoo Patriot" were characterised by good sense, breadth of view and logical powers. He wrote a large number of minutes, memoranda and memorials, and it was in these that he was most eminently successful.

"Where he had to collate facts, to manipulate figures, to assail premises or conclusions, to

tabulate results, to advance arguments, to cite authorities, to expose inconsistencies and detect fallacies, he was in his element. He used the simplest forms of expression but avoided colloquial vulgarisms. He employed but little the arts of rhetoric in his maturer years. His style was lucid, logical, unpretentious."

There was no affectation about the man or his style.

AS SPEAKER.

Kristo Das Pal was a born debater, and he had several physical advantages in addition. He had a stately presence, a clear full-toned voice, and he was master of the art of elocution.

"He spoke with calm dignity and logical precision, and never employed unfair methods of warfare. His speeches like his writings produced their effect not by tricks of rhetoric but by the abundance and accuracy of the information they contained and by the arguments they set forth."

His English hearers were unanimous in

considering him as one of the best speakers of India. Indeed his speeches could compare in all respects with the better sort of Parliamentary speeches. His fluency and skill were often the envy of Englishmen of culture. But among his own countrymen he does not seem to have had the same reputation for powers of speaking. We generally appreciate the emotional kind of oratory better than the argumentative ; the speech of the demagogue better than that of the senator. We do not see quiet humour, or when a speaker makes a point ; but violent declamation, scathing sarcasm, broad jokes, the elaborate demolition of an argument with pomp and circumstance, we fully appreciate. It is perhaps on account of our strange lack of humour and the absence of cultivated taste that we not only suffer but applaud the extravagant speeches, exclamations and "ye Gods" of our speakers at Temperance and other conferences, in the former of which, by the bye, most of the listeners have never tasted drink, nor are ever likely to taste.

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND WORK.

Kristo Das Pal came to be recognised as a political leader of Bengal, not because he had the required mental and moral qualities, but because he was the editor of a zemindari paper and Secretary of a Zemindari Association, and because he had influence both with wealthy men and the Government. But this would not have been enough if he had not 'an indifference to new ideas,' for our people are essentially conservative, despondent and lacking in enthusiasm; and we demand these qualities in our leaders also. And he should have failed if he had not refrained from all attempts to thrust himself on public notice. His opinions were not the result of an assimilated system of thought. They were formed in each case with a view to practical utility, and for that reason they appealed to the English mind. When he lived the Indian National Congress had not come into existence, and the political ideas of the country had not crystallised into definite shape. It is almost needless to say that Kristo Das Pal would have

identified himself with its opinions and aspirations. As things were, he urged incessantly the fulfilment of the promises contained in the Proclamation of 1858.

Speaking of the aspirations of young men of respectability and position to enter the Army, he wrote in 1877: "The only objection that can be urged against the measure is a political one. It might be thought impolitic to train ambitious members of a subject race in the art of war and place them in command of regiments and battalions, but the policy which proposes to govern a subject nation by distrusting and degrading them is a narrow one, utterly unworthy of the august Sovereign under whom we live. Confidence begets confidence and we have no hesitation in saying that the confidence of Her Majesty will greatly strengthen her rule." In the same year, when the Indian Cotton Import duties were partially abolished, he said: "Under the operations of the English interests the cotton and piece goods trade of India has gone. There is now a faint glimmer of a hope of revival, and English

interests are again in the way of India's success. We gratefully acknowledge that Indian commerce has greatly developed under British rule, but whenever English interests have come into collision, the people of India have gone to the wall." "Our countrymen," he said, "should be up and doing."

His work is not known by any conspicuous monument. It consisted of the guidance of public opinion and of the vigilant and efficient criticism of public measures. Being an Indian he was given no chance for initiating measures; he was only consulted. Such work does not generally attract men's attention; but all careful students of the lives of men and nations must acknowledge the importance of work which is rather critical than constructive, and whose results are subtle and impalpable rather than concrete and tangible. It should be remembered that Kristo Das Pal is the father of any real journalism that may now exist in Bengal.

Kristo Das was ever watchful of public rights and those of the Zemindars in particular. But,

says the late Mr. N. N. Ghosh, we do not ever see him reminding them of their duties, either towards themselves or towards the poor ryots under them. It is to be regretted all the more since no man had greater influence with them than Kristo Das Pal. When the Bengal Tenancy Bill was introduced, however, he expressed in the Imperial Legislative Council his sympathy with the millions.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Sir Stewart Bayley, who afterwards became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, said of Kristo Das Pal :—

“What were those peculiar qualities which enabled him to attain, and to maintain during all his life, an absolutely unique position, not only in the admiration of his countrymen, but in respect, regard and affection of all, of whatever nationality, who came in contact with him? Well gentlemen, I cannot pretend to offer an adequate explanation. In the course of the twenty years of my acquaintance with him I think the qualities in his character which principally struck me were—first the

admirable balance of his judgment; and, secondly his thorough sincerity. By sincerity, I mean not only moral sincerity, which is the duty of every good man, but I mean also mental or intellectual sincerity—that quality which makes you feel, in talking to a person, that his opinion is the outcome of an independent mind, and not merely the outcome of foregone prejudice or passion. To those qualities I may add a third, which has already been alluded to, and that was his unfailing temper. As I say, I have known him for twenty years, and have never failed to admire the extraordinary self-control with which, whether in fighting a winning or a losing cause, and especially in the latter, which is far the more difficult of the two, he never for an instant forgot himself, never said anything which he need be sorry for.”

All these qualities are very clearly reflected in the columns of the “Hindoo Patriot.” Indeed, but for them it was not possible for the paper to command the attention and wield the influence that it did. He never resorted to unworthy arts to secure public patronage. He

was uniformly sober and candid in criticism and never consciously unjust. But perhaps we should admire him most for his temper. He was often vilified or abused by persons or classes for whom he could not procure official favours or whose cause he could not support. But even in dealing with the most dirty tricks of the opponents, he never lost his temper, never forgot himself. It is to the ever-lasting credit of Kristo Das Pal that he was almost the only conspicuous man that did not lose the balance of his mind over the Ilbert Bill. It was a time when the whole country was in a frenzy, when Englishmen and Indians gave hard blows to each other and neither would listen to compromise ; when even in the Council Chamber a kind of language was used which can hardly be read now without a blush. We print as Appendix the three speeches that he made in connection with that unfortunate Bill. They must remain for ever a model of sober and dignified language, clothing the most exalted ideas of statesmanship and the most fervid sentiments of loyalty.

The balance of Kristo Das's mind is splendidly brought out in these speeches, especially in the first one where he expresses his firm belief in the ultimate triumph of the British sense of justice. In this weak world, passion and prejudice often get the better of us ; and it is a great thing to act with a keen sense of justice. But it is a greater thing not to lose the balance of our mind for a single unjust act, or even a succession of several such ones.

HIS MODERATION.

We here are in the habit—recently more so than ever—of appreciating a journal or its editor in proportion as it indulges in violent language. What is most out of taste, what is most irresponsible, appeals easiest to our imagination. Therefore it is no wonder that the moderation of Kristo Das Pal was much disliked by many men. They attributed to him a want of independence which they said was due to his over-anxiety not to offend the authorities. The charge was absolutely unfounded. All officials knew him to be the most uncompromising controversialist. He

was judged then as some of our leaders are judged now.

“ His moderate tone was the result of his anxious desire to be just. He was personally acquainted with many high officials of his day and knew that they and their actions were very often misunderstood. When he came to sit in judgment over them he was careful to see that they had a fair trial. He happened to know very often the facts which would put him in an attitude of sympathetic criticism, and knowing all the grounds of defence he could not be keen in his attack. (It is ignorance which sharpens the edge of criticism. Correct criticism must be well-informed, but such criticism is disagreeably sober to the impulsive student of politics; smart, sensational criticism is highly prized by the majority of readers, and such criticism derives its main strength from ignorance.) Kristo Das Pal studied every important public question so thoroughly in all its aspects, he knew so much of the men who decided the fate of questions, that he could not, like the mob, take always

the most uncharitable view of men and measures, or judge them only by appearances.”

On the other hand independence was a strong trait in his character.

In 1877 when the title of Rai Bahadur was conferred on Kristo Das Pal, he acknowledged the honour in the following terms in the *Hindoo Patriot*: “We are not a little surprised to find our own name among the Rai Bahadurs. If we may be allowed to be light-hearted on such a solemn subject, may we ask what dire offence did we commit, for which this punishment was reserved for us. We have no ambition for titular distinctions..... We are certainly grateful to the Government for this token of appreciation and approbation of our services, but if we had had a voice in the matter, we would have craved the permission of our kind and generous rulers to leave us alone and unadorned, following the footsteps of those honored, illustrious Englishmen, by whose side we are but pigmies, who have preferred to remain without a handle to their names.”

We are a little puzzled, however, and cannot understand why he did not refuse the honour if he was in a mood to write the above. In passing, it may be said that in his later years his position was so high and his influence in society so great that, instead of his courting official favour, there was every reason for the highest officials to seek *his* support.

Among his other characteristics were a tenacity of purpose and prodigious industry. It has already been observed how in the face of strong temptations he stuck to journalism. And those who know the conditions of Indian journalism will easily understand how much industry the editor of an Indian daily newspaper is required to possess. The editor is, with us, the greatest part of the staff.

“From early morning till a late hour in the evening, he had to receive visitors, most of whom wanted some favour. Latterly he had acquired the art of writing his articles and doing other work in the presence of his visitors and while talking to them.

(If he had thought of waiting till his visitors

had left him, he would have had to wait for ever.”)

The late Mr. Justice Ranade was similarly forced to go on with his writing and other kind of work while talking to others.

“The afternoons he used to spend in the rooms of the British Indian Association. Even there the visitors pursued him. A great deal of his work had to be postponed from day-time to night-time, and he hardly ever went to bed before one or two in the morning.

“Kristo Das had not only to write his paper unaided, but to write all documents for the British Indian Association, and to write minutes as a member of the Legislative Council and of the committees on which he might have had to sit. He also wrote petitions for men who came to him with grievances.”

EXCESSIVE DOMESTIC TENDERNESS.

In domestic life he was tender almost to weakness.

“He could hardly separate himself from his home for a single day without a pang. If business or the demands of health took him

away from Calcutta even for a short time, he would insist on being written to every day about the state of affairs in his home. On one occasion he had taken a short holiday and retired to a quiet place at some distance from Calcutta, where he used to receive letters every day from his son. One day no letter came. He immediately made up his mind to go back to Calcutta, and left the place the same day. The slightest ailment of a child filled him with anxiety and even drew tears from him."

PRIVATE LIFE.

His life was very simple, his wants few and his habits unaffected. Indeed his style of living was not altogether suited to his position. If he had adopted a more comfortable mode of living he should have perhaps enjoyed better health and been spared longer for the service of his country.

"In the widest sense of the word 'pure,' Kristo Das's life was of the purest. And his virtue was not merely of the negative sort, but was largely identified with active beneficence. He gave relief, to the best of his power, to

needy and distressed individuals, and also helped the public through organised institutions of charity as the District Charitable Society of Calcutta."

He had great powers of conversation and was genial and lively. But he maintained a degree of reserve with regard to more important matters, especially of a personal sort ; and not more than three or four knew the details of his private life and had looked into his heart and soul. He had respect for seniors and no jealousy for young men. He helped them whenever he could. His own success had been viewed with jealousy by many men; but his nature was not soured by this bitter experience. He exercised a feeling of "Let bygones be bygones" which was a constant saying with him.

"He was kind and courteous to all, even to menial servants. No man was ever repulsed from his door, or heard from him an unkind word, even in the midst of the busiest of his occupations and the sorest of his trials. In his home he was never tyrannical, in society he

was never disagreeable. If he possessed authority, he neither stretched it, nor exercised it in its full measure. (Like Englishmen and unlike Bengalis, he had the art of enjoying power and not seeking constant opportunities of its exercise.) He was so mindful of his *duties* that he never cared to insist on his personal *rights* as against friend, relation or subordinate. (Therefore he was not a pest to his subordinates, nor a bore to his friends and colleagues.) He was not self-assertive and dogmatic, and would not threaten to resign if his counsel were not followed."

Kristo Das lived and died a Hindu; but he was keenly aware of the evils that are devitalising us. Like most educated Indians he had an enlightened toleration for men professing other religions. He had no hatred to the work of the missionaries where their methods were not objectionable. Though he mixed freely with Europeans he never dined with them; and he advocated only such intercourse between the two races: he was convinced of the usefulness of drawing-room acquaintance,

but was not hopeful about greater intimacy.

At the last anniversary meeting held in honour of Kristo Das Pal's memory, Mr. B. G. Horniman of the *Statesman* said: "But I should like to say in conclusion that the memory of Babu Kristo Das Pal is of a special inspiration to me as a journalist, because he is the only journalist—I have heard of—to whose memory a public statue has been erected. I never heard of any man, even of my country, any journalist earning a lasting honour like this. It may be that no journalist ever deserved a public statue; or it may be that Babu Kristo Das Pal was the greatest journalist that ever lived. I am prepared to admit that."

Babu Surendranath Banerjee who also took part in the same meeting paid an eloquent tribute to an aspect of his character which requires emphasis. He said:—

"There was a notable trait in his character which made an abiding impression upon my youthful and susceptible mind and in respect of which I fear the fullest justice has not been done to him—I mean his deep

sympathy for young workers aspiring to emulate his example and to tread in his footsteps in the difficult, the delicate, the thorny, and in these days the somewhat dangerous paths of public life. For them he had always a word of comfort and encouragement—for them his hand was outstretched for help and guidance. He defended them with pen and tongue, and when necessary exercised the whole of his influence—and we who were his contemporaries knew what that meant—in vindication of their public character. There was not a trace of jealousy in that noble nature. But love, sympathy, good-will to all, especially to those who were co-workers in the same field, were the predominating traits of a public life which is not the least valuable of the many legacies that Kristo Das Pal has bequeathed to his countrymen. And these high qualities were reflected in the conduct of the great journal over which he presided with consummate ability for the space of nearly a quarter of a century. Amid the scathing public criticism to which he was often subjected not

a word of bitterness, hardly a word of complaint, ever escaped from his tongue or his pen; and his silence was often more eloquent in its dignified contempt of his adversaries than would have been the most spirited replies."

"Loyalty to the Crown and Justice to the People" was the inspiring motto of his life, and he lived up to it to the end. Perhaps we may with great appropriateness quote here a passage from his works showing the principle that guided him in his public life:—

"It is time there should be Union among the different Nationalities of India. They should join hand in hand in a common bond of attachment and loyalty to that beneficent Sovereign whose enlightened and benign rule has enabled them to achieve this happy union, and also in a common prayer for justice to their varied claims. Loyalty to the Throne and Justice to the people ought to be the battle-cry of every champion of his country's cause. If we remain faithful to that cry, our enemies however spiteful and powerful can do us no harm."

We may conclude this sketch of Kristo Das

Pal's life with an estimate of him by Sir Richard Temple :

“ Among the Native members (of the Bengal Legislative Council) the most useful in my time was Krito Das Pal, and if there was such a thing as the functions of a legitimate opposition, they were ordinarily exercised by him. The proceedings being conducted in English he was a good speaker, with a very correct pronunciation, and more fluency than most Englishmen ; as a debater, too, he was ready and acute. He was, on the whole, next after Sir Madhava Rao, the best-informed Indian whom I have known ; his assistance in legislation was really valuable ; and in public affairs he had more force of character than any native of Bengal. He belonged to a caste below that of Brahmin and was the editor of the *Hindoo Patriot* newspaper, published in English. This paper was the organ of the Bengal Zemindars, and was in the main sustained by them, but it had a large circulation otherwise both among Europeans and Natives being conducted with independence, loyalty and learning.”

APPENDIX A.

KRISTO DAS PAL'S SPEECHES ON "THE ILBERT BILL."

I. *9th March 1883.*

"My Lord,—I think I would best consult the interests of the Bill if I should say as little as possible on the subject. I am convinced that I cannot do better than leave it to your Lordship, as the responsible head of the Government, to enunciate the reasons and policy of this measure. I cannot, however, allow this occasion to pass without saying that I look upon this Bill as a legitimate and logical development of the progressive policy which characterises British rule in this country, and that, its principle being sound, just and righteous, my countrymen feel a deep interest in it.

"None, my Lord, can regret more than I do the ebullition of feeling which this Bill has caused. Considering the innocuous character of the Bill, I confess I did not expect it, nor did the Government, I believe, anticipate it. Had it not been for the great and important principle at stake, I would have been the first to counsel the withdrawal of the Bill, rather than oppose the wave of feeling which has risen against it. I have too strong a faith in the character of John Bull to believe for a moment that he will carry to the bitter end his opposition to a noble attempt to establish that equality in the eye of the law which the history of his own country, and the teachings of his own political system, so loudly proclaim. I was young when the hurricane of the Sepoy Revolt burst over the country in 1857, but I well recollect how feelings were torn asunder by the sad events of those days, how furious was the rage of denunciation, and how terrible the voice of vengeance. And yet, when the storm of the Mutiny subsided the feeling also subsided, and not a few of those who had stood forth as uncompromising enemies of the Natives now stepped forward as zealous champions of

their cause. It has been my good fortune to work with many of them, and to profit not a little by their advice, assistance, co-operation and example. Who could for a moment say that the Anglo-Indian of the Mutiny days was the Anglo-Indian of the succeeding days of peace and progress? This is my experience of the character of honest John Bull.

“Pride of race—I use the phrase in no offensive sense—is a commendable feeling. It is an honest and honourable pride. It has been the mother of good deeds, valiant acts, patriotic exertions and national glory. But there is a higher and nobler pride, that of fostering human happiness under beneficent law raising the weak and low to the level of the strong and high, and making equal law and equal justice the basis of political paramountcy in the world. It is to that noble feeling I appeal. All Englishmen, whether in India or in England, I humbly think, should rejoice that, within the century and a quarter they have ruled India, they have effected such a complete revolution in the Indian mind, both intellectual and moral, that Indian Magistrates are found fit to be trusted with the administration of the laws of the land, not only over their own countrymen, but also over the members of the ruling race. This is a work of which England may justly feel proud—this is a consummation over which all Englishmen may well rejoice.”

II. *4th January, 1884.*

“My Lord, I approach this subject with a mingled feeling of satisfaction and sorrow—satisfaction because the settlement referred to concludes a message of peace with a body of gentlemen who however misguided and maddened on the present occasion, are undoubtedly important factors in the cause of the advancement and regeneration of this country, and sorrow because, unless carefully safeguarded, it may open a wide door to injustice. I love peace, but honour more, and justice above all. It is not my object to dwell on the history of the present scheme of legislation, on the bitter feelings and animosities which it has evoked, on

the gradual minimization of the effect of the Bill, small by degrees and beautifully less, or on the influence which the angry discussions of the past ten months may have on the political prospects of the people. I say—let bye-gones be bye-gones. My present concern is to consider how far the proposed settlement will secure the interests and ends of justice. The primary object of your Lordship's Government in the proposed legislation has been to wipe out the brand of race disqualification in the judiciary within certain limits in the trial of European British subjects. And that object, I am happy to observe, has been steadily kept in view, and for it our grateful thanks are due to your Excellency's Government. I must at the same time confess that the scope of the original Bill, itself a small measure, has been materially reduced by the modifications proposed from time to time. As far as I understand these modifications, both the Native and European Sessions Judges and the Native and European District Magistrates will be so far placed on a footing of equality that they will exercise equal jurisdiction over European British subjects in matters criminal. This equalization, however, has been attained not by extension, but by reduction of power; by taking away the power of independent action of European Magistrates, and not by adding to the power of Native Magistrates. In so far, I am constrained to say, the solution of the difficulty has been achieved by an unsatisfactory process. The anomaly of race distinction is doubtless removed as between Magistrates, but it is effected not by adding to the power of Native Magistrates, but by changing the *venue*. Race-distinction becomes most obtrusive only in the trial of a certain class of cases, and those cases are practically transferred from the file of the Native Magistrate to that of his junior the Joint-Magistrate. Thus the race-distinction is made more pointed and painful. If the Native Magistrate be invested with a power which he will not be called upon to exercise, that power to all intents and purposes will be an unreality. Doubtless, the European Magistrate will stand in the same position, but to him it will be obvious that it is an administrative or political exigency, and not a question of colour. It is

proposed to safe-guard the extension of the jurisdiction of the Native British Sessions Judge and the Native District Magistrate by giving the European subject the right to claim trial by jury in all cases. This is a right, I am quite aware, inherent in the Englishmen, and an assembly of English legislators cannot but sympathise with it. I am also an advocate of jury-trial for my countrymen, and am of opinion that the jury-system ought to be extended throughout the country. But there are cases in which Englishmen in their own country cannot claim the benefit of a trial by jury, and even if the proposed modifications should pass into law, the European British subject, when brought before a European Assistant or Joint Magistrate charged with offences of a certain class, will have no right to claim a trial by jury. The question is whether, when similarly charged before a District Magistrate, whether a European or a Native, he should consistently be permitted to demand a jury. This provision will introduce a new anomaly. In seeking to abolish one anomaly we will create another. Under the proposed settlement, the European District Magistrate will lose a power which he has exercised since the Act of 1872 without any complaint on the part of the European British subjects, while the Native Magistrate will be constantly put in mind that his power has been circumscribed because he is a Native. It may also lead to administrative inconvenience, which is worthy of serious consideration. Then, under the Act of 1872, one great reproach to the administration of criminal justice in this country, as far as the trial of the European British subject was concerned, that of dragging for trial the complainant and the accused with the whole host of their witnesses to the Presidency capitals at great inconvenience, expense and hardship, was removed because it vested the District Sessions Judge with jurisdiction with or without a jury. Under the proposed settlement, in every case before a Court of Sessions the European British subject shall have the right to claim a trial by jury. In a district where a sufficient number of Europeans and Americans may not be found to constitute a jury, the result, I take it, will be to transfer the case to

a district where a jury may be available. In this way the old scandals of trials at inconveniently distant places will, I fear, be revived. Many a poor complainant may think it better to put up with the wrongs they may have sustained rather than face the hardships and expenses of a journey miles away from their homes for the sake of possible redress. In this respect the proposed settlement may lead to a denial of justice. In this respect it will manifestly be a retrograde move. It will, in fact, put back the clock of improvement introduced in 1872. There is another point urged by some of my countrymen, namely, the imminent risk of failure of justice in the case of a European British subject at the hands of a European jury under the peculiar constitution of Anglo-Indian society, and a small jury of those persons. I shall briefly touch upon this point. There have undoubtedly been cases on record in which there have been egregious failures of justice. I will not say that good men and true, when sworn in as jurors, will break their oath, and amidst large communities of men of the same race and religion engaged in different occupations and not bound by near kinship or absolute identity of profession or interest it is certainly easy to empanel a jury of good men and true; but amidst a small and sparse European population in the outlying districts of India, and particularly in critical times of excited feelings, in a small jury of these persons the risk of failure of justice is one which no Legislature should overlook. It is observable that the British Legislature has found it sometimes necessary to suspend jury-trials in Ireland. Under these circumstances, my Lord, I cannot look upon the settlement without grave misgivings. My humble belief is that it will add to the difficulties of a fair, speedy and honest administration of justice, and thus prove injurious to the people. I shall, however, propose no amendment or specific Motion now. Bearing in mind the singleness of purpose which has led your Lordship to this project of legislation, the anxiety which your Lordship has evinced to remove race-disqualifications in the discharge of judicial duties, and the earnestness with which your Lordship has sought to give effect to the noble behests of Parliament and our gracious Queen-Empress, I feel

I should pause and consider. I would, therefore, reserve my objections to the details of the settlement till I see the amendments take a definite shape at the hands of the Select Committee. In the spirit of the eloquent peroration of my hon'ble and learned friend the mover of the Bill, I would venture to remind the Hon'ble Council that the stability of the British Empire in India rests on the adamant rock of justice, and I earnestly hope that that truism will not be lost sight of by the Select Committee in framing their amendments. In conclusion, I wish to make one remark. I have no objection to the Motion that the Select Committee should report upon the Bill within one week. But I venture to express a hope that after the Bill is recast by the Select Committee it will be forwarded to the Local Governments and local officers for an expression of their opinion as to how far its provisions will be conducive to administrative convenience and to an efficient administration of justice. Great apprehensions are widely entertained that the Bill framed on the basis of the settlement will be unworkable and will defeat the ends of justice. For this reason I think it is highly desirable, my Lord, that the opinion of the local officers, who are in the best position to form a just estimate of the practical tendency of the Bill, should be taken on this vitally important point. As the Bill has been allowed to hang on for the last ten months, surely it will not prejudice any interest to delay its passing for two months more."

III. *26th January, 1884.*

"My Lord, before the motion is formally put to the vote, I ask your Lordship's permission to say a few words. I feel it would be wrong on my part to raise a fresh discussion upon a subject which has been already discussed threadbare, particularly as the Bill has reached the stage when no discussion will avail one way or another. Remembering also the deliberate decision of Government that the Bill must be based on the lines of the agreement entered into, I could see no room to any substantial amendment which would prove beneficial, and I am con-

firmed in my opinion by the proceedings of this day. At the same time, in justice to myself, I must candidly confess with due deference that the provisions of the Bill as amended by the Select Committee, as far as I can see, are not calculated to remove the apprehensions which I ventured to express on the last occasion. It cannot be denied that while race-distinction is removed in one direction, that is to say, as regards a very small class of Native officers, it is deepened in another direction, that is to say, as regards the Native population at large, that the anomaly of jury-trial in petty cases, in cases in which a jury is admitted to be ridiculous, remains all the same, if the District Magistrate chooses to try such cases; that the cure of the invidiousness of the law will depend on the forbearance of the Magistrates, if he will not try petty cases, and of the accused, if he will not claim a jury in such cases; that the risk of failure of justice at the hands of a dominant and sympathising jury is not safe-guarded in any way, and that the old evils to poor complainants of the transfer of cases to distant Courts, almost amounting to a denial of justice, from districts where a jury may not be available, will be revived in all their rigours. But I will not prolong a dying controversy by raising fresh objections. Your Lordship was pleased to declare in winding up the debate on the 7th instant, that a failure to justice such as I had apprehended would be an intolerable evil, that if your Lordship had anticipated it you would not have been a party to the arrangement made, and that should failure of justice or other grave evils hereafter arise out of the proposed system, it would be the duty of the Government of the day to apply adequate remedies. I accept this assurance of your Lordship with due submission.

“My Lord, if I have correctly gauged the opinion of my countrymen on this subject, there seems to be a deep conviction among them that the fiery ordeal through which they have passed during the last ten months has brought forth no adequate result, that if they have gained some slight advantages on the one hand, they have lost much more on the other, that the sudden and sad turn which this business has taken at the last moment has fallen like a thunderbolt upon them, and filled them with gloom and dismay. But I

should not despond. The main principles of this Bill, though within very narrow limits, being affirmed, I fervently hope that it will prove the precursor of more substantial and abiding reforms. At some favourable time hereafter, when the present storm of passionate feeling and race-animosities, it is to be hoped, will have passed away, when practical experience will have satisfied even the most thorough-going representatives of the domineering class that Native Judges and Magistrates mete out even-handed and uncoloured justice, some hopeful mariner in charge of the vessel of the State, following the signal planted to-day, may steer his course in the same onward path, and give a wider effect to the high hopes and honourable aspirations with which the controversy of the past few months I am bound to say, has filled the heart of the nation. It is not necessary for me to formulate these hopes and aspirations. Suffice it to say that the nation anxiously looks forward to the establishment of a complete equality in the eye of the law between all classes of Her Majesty's subjects without distinctions of race and religion, to the unconditional extension to Her Indian subjects of the same jury-trial that has been accorded to her British-born subjects,—for it is the bulwark of the liberty of all subjects,—to the removal of the present barrier to the admission into the Convenanted Civil Service through the door of competition and of the stigma which unjustly attaches to the statutory civilians, by combining, as I conceive, competition with nomination, and to the development of those solid measures of progress which will raise the Native Indians to the level of the European British subjects. The passage of the Bill marks three distinctive and important points, firstly, that the Queen's Proclamation the Magna Charta of the people of India has been vindicated with a forced emphasis and earnestness, with which it had never before been vindicated; secondly, that a step, albeit a short one, still a well-defined one has been taken in putting the higher order of covenanted civilians, both European and Native, on a footing of equality which no future Government will dare retrogress; and thirdly, that, if my countrymen

prove equal to the occasion the onward policy is sure to advance. We are certainly more concerned with the present than with the future; but man does not live for the present alone. His manhood will not progress if he does not think of the future—care for the future—live for the future. Relying on the future, I give my adhesion to the present Bill.”

APPENDIX B.

INDIAN MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

*[Extracts from a speech delivered in the
Town Hall, Calcutta, 1878.]*

* * * * *

The Talk of Partnership.

Then it had been said that the principle on which the Military charges were apportioned between England and India was one of joint partnership. Now, could a joint partnership exist between a giant and a dwarf? (hear, hear) England was rich; India was poor. England governed herself through her house of representative; India was scarcely able to send forth her voice across a distance of ten thousand miles. Here and there indeed there were a few Englishmen, disinterested, philanthropic, warm-hearted Englishmen, who took an interest in the affairs of this country; but that was all. And yet they were told that the adjustment was conducted on the principles of joint partnership. If they examined the practical working of this joint partnership what would they find? That on no less than seven occasions troops were borrowed from India, first for the China expedition, next for the Crimean war, thirdly for the Persian expedition, fourthly, for the second China expedition, fifthly for the first New Zealand expedition, sixthly for the second New Zealand expedition, and seventhly for the Abyssinian expedition. All those were imperial undertakings, but India had to furnish the troops with their

pay and allowances. England, in fact, borrowed, and India paid (hear, hear). On the other hand reinforcements were sent from England to India for the Sutlej campaign of 1846, the Panjab campaign of 1849, and for the mutiny campaign of 1857-58. How did India meet her liabilities in these cases? She had to pay every fraction of the pay of the troops from the moment they left England (hear, hear). This was no matter of complaint; it was nothing but right that India should pay as she did; but the people did complain, and very rightly too, when England refused to pay her legitimate dues (hear, hear). Now the question arose—was England as just to her other colonies? If a comparison were made of their treatment with that of India, it would be seen that while the cost of the Colonial Office was charged to the English Treasury, that of the India Office was charged to the Indian Treasury. The cost of the Colonial garrisons was paid chiefly from the English Treasury while the Indian Treasury not only paid for the Indian garrison, but paid a good deal more besides. Further, all insurrectionary movements in the colonies were met and suppressed at the cost of the imperial exchequer while the cost of the Sepoy Mutiny had to be borne by the Indian Treasury. Then again balance the benefits which England derived from India and the colonies respectively. If this matter were looked at with an impartial eye, it would be readily admitted that India was undoubtedly the brightest gem in the diadem of England. It had been alleged by Viscount Cardwell that England had to maintain large bodies of European troops for India's protection. He emphatically denied this position. It was for her own safety, for her own military glory, for her own imperial policy, that England maintained these troops. On the contrary, the Indian army served as a most efficient reserve for England.

* * * *

India the School for European Soldiers.

Up to the outbreak of the Crimean war, England had enjoyed forty years' uninterrupted peace in Europe, and during that time India was the best school for her soldiers. It was in India the Iron Duke, the hero of

Waterloo, the conquerer of Napoleon, had his training; it was in India many of the Crimean heroes first flashed their swords; it was in India the veteran soldier, to whom all England now turned as the Commander-in-Chief of the British army, should a war break out with Russia, was schooled and nurtured, and if no other reason at any rate for this tribute in military strength which India thus contributed to England she deserved a generous consideration in the apportionment of her military charges from the imperial country (cheers). But what has England done in return? She has not even guaranteed the Indian loans ("loud cheers.") The fact that India was the best School for England's soldiers was ably put forward by his Grace the Duke of Argyll in his correspondence with Lord Cardwell in the following words:—

"But I have further to point out that all arguments which imply that India is nothing but a burden and a cause of embarrassment in military affairs are arguments inconsistent with many notorious facts—with the anxiety of officers to secure Indian employments, and with the advantages which Indian exigencies afford in the way of augmentation and promotions in the army. It is well known that India offers the best if not indeed the only training ground for the British army in time of European peace; that as Indian pay and allowances are much higher than those given to the army either at home, or when employed elsewhere abroad, Indian service is highly popular in the army and that in consequence of the liberal treatment which up to the present time, the Government of that country has been enabled to bestow upon the officers and men, it has contributed one great inducement to members of both classes to enter the British army; and, moreover, that under the new army organisation by which Her Majesty's Government hope to augment the military power of the country, and to save the expense of pensions by the introduction of a short service system and the establishment of a reserve, a very large and certainly not the least valuable portion of that reserve will consist of men whose entire military training and experience will have been acquired at the expense of the people of India."

Parliamentary Statutes.

Now, the principle on which the Home Military charges of India were apportioned was not only against morality, against equity but against the law laid down by Parliament. First as to effective services, Act 28, George 3rd, Chapter 8, Section 1, empowered the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India to defray from the revenues of India "all the expenses incurred, or to be hereafter incurred, for raising, transporting and maintaining such forces as shall be sent to India for the security of the said territories and possessions, in addition to the forces now there." Further, Act 33, George 3rd, Chapter 52, Section 128, enacted, with reference to the Home charges of British troops in India that "all sums issued by the said Pay Master General of His Majesty's forces for and on account of His Majesty's forces serving in India or for raising and supplying recruits for the same, shall be repaid by the said Company; and that the actual expenses only, which since the 24th day of December 1792, have been or which hereafter shall be incurred (in India) for the support and maintenance of the said troops shall be borne and defrayed by the said Company." Act 58 George 3rd, Chapter 155, Section 87, declared that—"it shall not be lawful for the Commissioners for the affairs of India to give or approve orders or directions, that these shall be defrayed and allowed out of the Revenue" (of India) "in respect of His Majesty's forces sent or to be sent to the East Indies, any sum of money in respect of any greater number of His Majesty's forces, than shall amount, in the whole to twenty thousand men, including the commissioned and uncommissioned officers unless any greater number of His Majesty's forces shall be sent to the East Indies on the requisition of the said Court of Directors." Again Act 21 and 22 Vict. Cap. 196, Section 55, provided that, "except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian possessions or under other sudden and urgent necessity the revenues of India shall not without the consent of both Houses of Parliament be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operation carried on

beyond the external frontiers of such possessions by Her Majesty's forces charged upon such revenues." Then as to non-effective services, Act 4, Geo. 4th, Cap. 71, recited that "no provision has been made for the charge incurred for retiring pay and pensions, and other expenses of that nature arising, in respect of His Majesty's forces serving in India and that the said United Company, in consideration thereof, have agreed to pay for those purposes the said annual sum of £60,000. Be it therefore enacted that over and above all sums of money now payable by the said United Company in respect of His Majesty's forces serving in the East Indies the annual sum of £60,000, to commence from the said 30th April 1822 shall be paid out of the rents, revenues and profit accruing from the said territorial acquisitions, in full discharge and satisfaction of all claims upon the said Company for retiring pay, pensions and other expenses of that nature, granted or payable by His Majesty or by authority of Parliament or otherwise, in respect of any of the forces of His Majesty which have served, or are now serving or which hereafter may serve in the East Indies."

Government Efforts Fruitless.

Now, nothing could be more clear and definite than the law on the subject, but it did seem strange how Her Majesty's Government went on year after year committing these iniquities. So far as the Government of India was concerned he was bound to point out that it was an earnest advocate for not only reduction of military expenditure but also for an adjustment of the home expenses of the Indian Army on a fair and equitable basis. In 1869 Lord Mayo moved in the matter and His Lordship was followed up in 1873 by Lord Northbrook. Lord Northbrook's example had not been lost on Lord Lytton, and he thought he might say without breach of confidence that Lord Lytton had lately addressed the Indian Council a forcible despatch on the subject. But how was it that the efforts of the Government of India generally proved fruitless? The fact was in the Indian Council there was a preponderance of Madras and Bombay members who were not unoften opposed to schemes emanating from Bengal. Some time ago Lord Sandhurst (then Sir Willi-

am Mansfield) and after him Lord Northbrook, had recommended the abolition of two out of the three presidency commands as not necessary in these days of universal telegraph and railway communications, but their recommendations were not adopted, because the Horse Guards were too powerful for them! (hear, hear). So far the relations between the War Office were concerned, no better proof of their unsatisfactory character could be had than the evidence given by Lord Salisbury before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1874.

A Tug of War.

He would read what his lordship said, to answer to certain questions put by Professor Fawcett:—

Q.—“Then it comes to this simply, without saying whether any one is justified or not in doing it, that throughout the existence of an administration the Secretary of State for India is aware that India is being justly charged; that he protests, again and again; that the thing goes on and apparently no remedy can possibly be obtained for India unless the Secretary of State is prepared to take up this line and say; I will not submit to it any longer: I will resign?”

A.—“It is hardly so strong as that, because the Secretary of State, if his Council goes with him, can always pass a resolution that such and such a payment is not to be made; but, of course any Minister shrinks from such a course because it stops the machine.

Q.—“You have these alternatives: you must either stop the machine or you must resign or you must go on tacitly submitting to what you consider to be an injustice?”

A.—“Well, I should accept that statement barring the word ‘tacitly’: I should go on submitting with loud remonstrance.

Q.—“Taking existing facts what has occurred is that the Secretary of State has gone on submitting with these loud remonstrances. It is difficult to conceive I think, of stronger remonstrances written by one member of the Government to another member of the Government than are contained in that correspondence?”

A.—“ Well, I would not venture certainly to write any stronger myself.

Q.—“ Then what I understand your Lordship to mean is this, that, after all the great security for India to obtain financial justice is this, that India should have a Secretary of State who should do all in his power to secure her justice and that he should out of doors be supported by the public opinion of the English people and by the sympathy of the House of Commons; that is his great strength after all ?

A.— “ That is undoubtedly his great strength ; and if the House of Commons will keep a sufficiently sharp eye over these matters I do not imagine that there is any serious danger of India being oppressed ; but there is a constant tendency, of course on the part of the departments at home, which have such enormous inducements to save to get money where it may be had without resistance or difficulty.”


India and the Commons.

This was the confession of the Secretary of State—that there were departments in England which would not hesitate to take as much money as they could, if they could do so without difficulty, and Lord Salisbury was of opinion that India's only strength lay in the House of Commons. So the House of Commons was their only hope (cheers)! Once a great English orator said that if India were ever lost to England, it would be lost in the House of Commons. He of course, referred to the ignorant interference of the House of Commons with the affairs of India. But in this case it would be seen that if India was to be saved she could be saved only in, by and through the House of Commons, and to that House we proposed to appeal (Hear, hear.) India had no representative assembly; she had no powerful party interests to save her; her affairs did not affect the fates of political parties in England; her children were dumb and weak; she could only appeal to the sympathy, to the sense of justice, to the conscience of the great nation, which under a Divine dispensation ruled her destiny (cheers,) It was often said that England's power in India rested

on the rock of justice and it was now proposed to appeal to her for justice. (cheers) He did hope that the great British nation, which shewed such warm and generous sympathy in her late calamity would not turn a deaf ear to their appeal and refuse to render that financial justice.

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